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CANADA AND THE NAVY

THE TWO POLICIES

100 REASONS

Why the Laurier is Better than the Borden Policy!

WHICH POLICY SHOULD CANADA ADOPT?

THE CONSERVATIVE POLICY — An immediate expenditure of $35,000,000 on three Dreadnoughts as part of a permanent policy of centralization and contribution.

THE LIBERAL POLICY — A Canadian Naval Service in accordance with the unanimous resolution of the House of Commons of March, 1909.

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CANADA AND THE NAVY

(The following pamphlets and leaflets may be had on application to the Central Information Office of the Canadian Liberal Party, Ottawa, Canada.)

PAMPHLETS

Speech delivered by the Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Leader of the Opposition, in Moving Amendment to the Naval Aid Bill in the House of Commons on December 12th, 1912.

The Memorandum prepared by the board of Admiralty on the General Naval Situation.—What it Discloses.

Is there an Emergency?—Conflicting Opinions Examined in the Light of Facts.

Canada's position in Military and Naval Defence.—An Outline of Important Events.

The Real Emergency.—The Nationalist-Conservative Alliance and some of its Consequences.—How British Interests have been Sacrificed to Serve Party Ends.

Australia and New Zealand.—Methods of Naval Defence.—The Policies of other self-governing British Dominions and their bearing upon the Naval Controversy in Canada.

Reasons by the Rt. Hon. R. L. Borden, M.P. in favor of a Canadian Naval Service and against a Contribution.

On what grounds did Parliament Decide upon a Canadian Naval Service?—What were the views of Hon. George E. Foster who introduced the resolution?

The Two Policies.—100 Reasons why the Laurier is Better than the Borden Policy.

LEAFLETS

Answers to Important Questions.—What have Australia and New Zealand done?

Answers to Important Questions—What are the views of the other self-governing Dominions of the British Empire?

IN PRINT

Speech by the Rt. Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Leader of the Opposition, against the introduction of the Closure in the Canadian House of Commons, as proposed in a resolution moved by the Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. R. L. Borden M.P., on April 9, 1913.

WHY THE LAURIER IS BETTER THAN THE BORDEN POLICY.

1. The Borden policy is a policy of contribution.
   The Laurier policy is a policy of a Canadian Naval Service.

2. The Borden policy means centralization without control.
   The Laurier policy means co-operation with control.

3. The Borden policy, if carried, will be without 'moral effect,' being expressive only of coercion and a divided Canada.
   The Laurier policy, if carried, will have great moral effect being expressive of the will of the Canadian people as given unanimously by their representatives in Parliament and confirmed later at the polls.

4. The Borden policy means a departure from the unanimous resolution of the House of Commons of March 1909.
   The Laurier policy means the carrying out of that resolution.

5. The Borden policy means a departure from the plan approved by the British Admiralty at the Conference of June 1909.
   The Laurier policy means the carrying out of that plan.

6. The Borden policy means a failure to carry out the agreement reached with Australia and New Zealand at the Admiralty Conference of June 1909.
   The Laurier policy means the carrying out of that agreement.

7. The Borden policy means a failure to carry out the further plans approved by the Admiralty and the agreement reached with Australia at a Conference in London in June 1911.
   The Laurier policy means the carrying out of these plans and agreement.

8. The Borden policy means a failure to comply with the provisions of the Naval Service Act passed by the government of Canada May 1910 and now on the Statutes of Canada.
   The Laurier policy means the carrying out of the provisions of that Act.

9. The Borden policy is a hybrid policy, born of the Nationalist-Conservative alliance; a compromise policy to help unite the Nationalists and the imperial jingoes.
   The Laurier policy is not the policy of any faction or group, but the policy unanimously adopted by both parties in Parliament.

10. The Borden policy is a reversal of the policy adopted since Confederation in the matter of defence, viz. the gradual assumption by Canada of a larger measure of self-defence.
    The Laurier policy is in accordance with the policy all along pursued, and is merely an extension of the present policy of self defence from land to sea.

11. The Borden policy causes confusion as to what is to be the real policy in the future.
    The Laurier policy leaves no room for future doubts.

12. The Borden policy makes it impossible for Canada to stop contributions and enter upon a naval service of her own, without appearing to be dissatisfied with the Mother country.
    The Laurier policy creates no future embarrassments.

13. The Borden policy causes the placing by one government within the Empire of conditions upon another.
    The Laurier policy avoids conditions.

14. The Borden policy is bound up with embarrassing and debatable schemes of representation on imperial councils, control of foreign policies, and the like.
    The Laurier policy is free from entangling political complications.

15. The Borden policy precipitates Canada into a premature and ill-considered attempt to re-organize the Empire on some new system of Imperial federation.
    The Laurier policy is the embodiment of every principle by which imperial unity and national autonomy have been built up.

16. The Borden policy is "the thin edge of the wedge".
    The Laurier policy "leaves well enough alone".

17. The Borden policy makes for a divided Canada.
The Laurier policy makes for a united Canada.

18. The Borden policy makes for a divided Empire.
The Laurier policy makes for a united Empire.

19. The Borden policy will create dissensions within Canada and within the United Kingdom as to the allotment of funds and use made of ships.
The Laurier policy avoids dissensions.

20. The Borden policy is a sensational departure from existing methods and as such is contrary to the Admiralty view as to what is best policy.
The Laurier policy means steady development on a regular plan across a period of years, and as such is in accord with Admiralty view of what is best in naval policy.

21. The Borden policy will lead to strained relations between the Mother country and Canada should questions arise as to the use which Canadian contributions are being made to serve.
The Laurier policy removes all possibility of friction by reserving to each part of the Empire the keeping of its own accounts and the management of its own affairs.

22. The Borden policy ignores the people.
The Laurier policy recognizes the right of the electorate to be consulted.

23. The Borden policy is opposed to the wishes of the other self-governing Dominions.
The Laurier policy is in accord with the views of the other Dominions as to what is best for the British Empire.

24. The Borden policy is an emergency policy.
The Laurier policy is a permanent policy.

25. The Borden policy is an abandoned policy.
The Laurier policy is an accepted policy.

26. The Borden policy is contrary to what experience has taught to be best,—Australia abandoned contribution for a Naval Service of her own. New Zealand is thinking of doing the same.
The Laurier policy is the same as the present Australian and the proposed New Zealand policies.

27. The Borden policy is contrary to the teachings of history, which shows that all Empires based on centralization have failed to endure.
The Laurier policy recognizes what history has taught, and affords a basis for the permanent development of the British Empire.

28. The Borden policy has divided public opinion in the United Kingdom, Canada and in all the self-governing Dominions.
The Laurier policy is founded on unanimous agreement.

29. The Borden policy is based on political expediency.
The Laurier policy is based on Canadian honour and patriotism.

30. The Borden policy breaks faith with Australia.
The Laurier policy keeps faith with everyone

31. The Borden policy necessitates a reversal by Mr. Borden and his followers of their former position.
The Laurier policy avoids all political contortions.

32. The Borden policy is an attempt to assist the "re-organizers" of the British Empire, and the "imperial fussers" to change the present constitution of the United Kingdom and the self-governing Dominions.
The Laurier policy is a recognition of the wisdom of allowing a natural evolution in the affairs of the British Empire.

33. The Borden policy condemns by implication Australians for assisting the Empire by building a navy of their own.
The Laurier policy casts no such invidious reflections upon a sister Dominion.

34. The Borden policy places Canada on a par with the Malay States.
The Laurier policy retains for Canada her position as the premier self-governing Dominion.

35. The Borden policy must be abandoned sooner or later.
The Laurier policy necessitates no change.

36. The Borden policy is the beginning of a series of contributions.
The Laurier policy avoids tribute.

37. The Borden policy is based on false alarms.
The Laurier policy is based on common sense.

38. The Borden policy is a policy which looks only to the Admiralty point of view.
The Laurier policy considers first and foremost, how the ultimate strength and unity of the Empire can best be assured.

39. The Borden policy threatens British connection by the reimposition of control from across the sea.
The Laurier policy cements British connection by furthering self-government.

40. The Borden policy is anti-Canadian and the methods taken to compel its adoption anti-British.
The Laurier policy is in all respects in accord with Canadian sentiment and British practice.

41. The Borden policy looks to strengthening the Empire by ignoring Canadian needs.
The Laurier policy by being true to Canada promotes the welfare of the Empire.

42. The Borden policy contemplates Canada becoming a province of the Empire.
The Laurier policy means Canada remaining a self-governing Dominion.

43. The Borden policy is based on lack of faith in Canadians.
The Laurier policy is founded on a belief in the country and its people.

44. The Borden policy typifies fear and incapacity.
The Laurier policy typifies Canada.

45. The Borden policy is based on what Canada cannot do.
The Laurier policy is based on what Canada can do.

46. The Borden policy means interference of Downing Street and British departmental officials in Canadian affairs.
The Laurier policy avoids interference.

47. The Borden policy is contradictory throughout. A gift with ownership reserved to the giver. Relief to British tax-payers involving additional burdens upon them through manning and maintenance. Assistance coupled with the right of withdrawal of assistance.
The Laurier policy is not contradictory in any respect.

48. The Borden policy renders Canada liable to unknown and indefinite future obligations. Every panic will be used to increase her contributions.
The Laurier policy controls expenditure in accordance with the will of the people of Canada.

49. The Borden policy amounts to a world confession of want of confidence in Britain's Navy on the part of Canada.
The Laurier policy is a declaration to the world of Canada's ability to cooperate with Britain in maintaining Naval supremacy.

50. The Borden policy is calculated to involve the New World in the racial animosities, prejudices and antipathies of the old.
The Laurier policy avoids mixing up new world affairs with old world quarrels and prejudices.

51. The Borden policy means Canada's participation in European wars, without a voice in foreign policy.
The Laurier policy means Canada's right to co-operate in defence of the Empire in accordance with the will of the Canadian Parliament.

52. The Borden policy is a challenge to Germany.
The Laurier policy is a challenge to no one.

53. The Borden policy helps to provoke the kind of evil which nations should seek to avoid. By adding to European war equipment, it will tend to accelerate among European nations the insane race of battleship building.
The Laurier policy causes no kind of competition, but enables Canada to effectively defend herself and aid in the defence of the Empire.

54. The Borden policy means the concentration of all power in the hands of a few and at one place.
The Laurier policy means the establishing of new centres of strength.

55. The Borden policy means monopoly in all that pertains to naval defence.
The Laurier policy means a distribution of the duty of defence.

56. The Borden policy tends to make Canada a dependent colony.
The Laurier policy continues Canada as a self-respecting self-governing Dominion.

57. The Borden policy is the abnegation and abandonment of the functions of self-government with respect to naval defence.
The Laurier policy is an assertion of the rights and duties of self-government.

58. The Borden policy ignores the immediate needs of Canada.
The Laurier policy begins to meet these needs.

59. The Borden policy does nothing for the coast defence of Canada on the Atlantic or the Pacific.
The Laurier policy establishes coast defence, and naval forces available to the Admiralty when required.

60. The Borden policy leaves the harbours, shipping ports, coast cities and terminals of transcontinental railway systems open to the attack of a third class cruiser.
The Laurier policy provides protection for Canadian harbours, shipping ports, coast and railway terminal cities.

61. The Borden policy provides no special protection to Canadian trade routes or commerce.
The Laurier policy provides special protection, and the necessary convoy to safeguard ships carrying provisions from Canada to Britain in time of need.

62. The Borden policy makes Canada dependent for her entire defence on the Mother Country, at such time as the Mother Country may be least able to render assistance.
The Laurier policy relieves the Mother Country of anxiety for her greatest Dominion in time of stress.

63. The Borden policy makes Canada look always to the Mother Country for assistance.
The Laurier policy enables the Mother Country to look to Canada for assistance.

64. The Borden policy means the acceptance in advance of what British diplomacy may do without any voice in shaping of policy.
The Laurier policy means the right of the Parliament of Canada to be consulted on matters affecting the Dominion.

65. The Borden policy is a hiring of others to aid in defence.
The Laurier policy is self-defence.

66. The Borden policy is a contribution of money only.
The Laurier policy is a contribution of men and brains.

67. The Borden policy ignores service.
The Laurier policy is service.

68. The Borden policy avoids duties as Canadians, whilst claiming rights as British subjects.
The Laurier policy recognizes rights as Canadians with duties as British subjects.

69. The Borden policy takes no root in Canadian soil.
The Laurier policy is a Canadian growth.

70. The Borden policy gives no expression to Canadian sentiment.
The Laurier policy is the truest kind of Canadian expression.

71. The Borden policy leaves Canada no farther ahead as the years go by.
The Laurier policy gives added strength and security to the Dominion year by year.

72. The Borden policy is the handing over to Great Britain of an important branch of Canadian administration.
The Laurier policy means further development in administration by Canada.

73. The Borden policy destroys responsibility and self-reliance.
The Laurier policy fosters the truest patriotism.

74. The Borden policy protects nothing.
The Laurier policy protects both Canadian coasts and Canadian industry.

75. The Borden policy leads to nothing but further contributions.
The Laurier policy may lead to Canada building ships for other parts of the Empire.

76. The Borden policy ignores Canadian opportunities and industries.
The Laurier policy helps to establish in Canada a great ship-building industry and to develop the industries dependent on it.

77. The Borden policy does nothing for Canadian trade and commerce, but sends millions of dollars out of the country.
The Laurier policy seeks to retain for circulation in Canada as much as possible of the money that may be needed for expenditure on Naval defence.

78. The Borden policy does nothing for Canadian capital, aids no industry, creates no demand for Canadian resources, or manufactures, but deprives the country of $35,000,000 of its capital immediately, and additional sums later on.
The Laurier policy seeks to utilize Canadian resources, manufactures and material.

79. The Borden policy fosters the industries of the United Kingdom at the expense of those of Canada.
The Laurier policy builds up the industries of the Empire by establishing industries in Canada.

80. The Borden policy says what Australia, Argentina and Brazil have done, Canada cannot attempt.
The Laurier policy says whatever Canadians undertake they can successfully carry out.

81. The Borden policy does nothing for Canadian labour, but gives to the shipyards of the United Kingdom $35,000,000 part at least of which might create a demand for Canadian labour, and add to the wages of workingmen. While it is $35,000,000 to begin with, it may be $350,000,000 before many years.
The Laurier policy is designed to help Canadian labour by furnishing an additional demand for labour, and an absolutely reliable source of payment of wages.

82. The Borden policy discourages immigration by placing orders for work abroad.
The Laurier policy induces immigration by affording new opportunities of employment in Canada.

83. The Borden policy affords no new career to Canadians.
The Laurier policy opens a new career to young Canadians, and a new occupation to those who like the sea.

84. The Borden policy deprives Canada of benefits which she ought to derive from assisting in defence.
The Laurier policy has regard for the necessities, aspirations and prospects of the Canadian people.

85. The Borden policy means irresponsible control.
The Laurier policy means responsible control.

86. The Borden policy means expenditure without represen-
The Laurier policy recognizes that expenditure and representation should go together.

87. The Borden policy means a parting with control over expenditure on Naval defence by the Parliament of Canada.
The Laurier policy means retaining control by Parliament over Naval expenditure.

88. The Borden policy contemplates the use of Canada's property by those who are not responsible to, and cannot be called to account by, the representatives of the Canadian people.
The Laurier policy recognizes the cardinal principle of responsible government, that the representatives of those who pay the taxes, must look to their proper expenditure.

89. The Borden policy is contrary to responsible self-government, and helps to destroy Canadian autonomy.
The Laurier policy is based on the fundamental right of self-government, and responsibility of a ministry to the people for control of expenditure of funds raised from the taxes of the people.

90. The Borden policy in the minds of many is unconstitutional, going beyond the powers of the British North America Act.
The Laurier policy permits of no doubt as to constitutionality.

91. The Borden policy places a wrong ideal before the Nation in that it aims at Canada outrivalling all the Nations of the world in the size of the battleships she owns; they are to be "the three most powerful battleships in the world".
The Laurier policy is not a policy of international rivalry in battleship construction, but of Canadian co-operation in defence.

92. The Borden policy involves a moral wrong in that it compels the Canadian people to grant to persons not responsible to them, the right to use great engines of destruction as they see fit.
The Laurier policy retains a control by Canadians of their own property and responsibility for its uses.

93. The Borden policy contemplates Canadian ships visiting South America and parts of the world in no way connected with the British Empire without the sanction of the Canadian Government.
The Laurier policy retains to Canada a say as to the disposition of her property.

94. The Borden policy is for the purpose of " showing the flag" in all parts of the world.
The Laurier policy is to keep the flag flying continuously along Canadian coasts.

95. The Borden policy does not replace the ships which have been withdrawn from Canadian coast protection.
The Laurier policy fills up the gaps.

96. The Borden policy places no ships in Canadian waters except as visitors.
The Laurier policy definitely and directly secures the presence of Canadian ships in Canadian waters for the defence of Canadian coasts.

97. The Borden policy affords no protection against the Asiatic menace.
The Laurier policy affords adequate protection to British Columbia and Western Canada and enables Canada to assist in the maintenance of the British Naval power in the Pacific.

98. The Borden Policy makes Canada dependent on the Royal Australian Navy.
The Laurier policy will permit of co-operation between Australia and Canada in the defence of the Pacific.

99. The Borden policy draws Canada into the vortex of European militarism.
The Laurier policy avoids European entanglements.

100. The Borden policy is not based on any mandate from the people.

The Laurier policy is in accordance with the will of the people.—"The will of the people must prevail, but I believe it will affirm what Parliament with unanimous voice has declared." (Rt. Hon. R. L. Borden, M.P. in an address on the naval question before the Centre and South Toronto Conservative Clubs, November 1, 1910.)

Copies of this pamphlet may be had on applying to the Central Liberal Information Office, Ottawa, Canada.

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